

Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1898.

NO. 10

This that they call Organizing of Labor is, if well understood, the Problem of the whole Future for All.—*Carlyle.*

MARX'S THEORY OF LABOR TIME AND THE REWARD OF LABOR.

A Criticism by Simon Epstein.

Or late indications have not been wanting, tending to show that Socialists are not free from the common frailties of human nature. They, too, seem to share the all but universal weakness of worshiping the "great dead ones."

However, under the refining influence of Socialism, this apotheosis of pioneer thinkers and leaders has assumed a somewhat new form. In some Socialist quarters, it now appears in the guise of an unquestioning assent to every word and syllable ever written or uttered by Karl Marx. Socialists of this type seem to regard Socialism as a holy creed whose dogmas are embodied in that latter-day Bible, "Das Kapital." In their eyes, it is the height of impious audacity to dare question any of the views of the Fathers of Socialism.

Such an attitude toward Socialist doctrine cannot fail to produce mischievous results. It begets a disposition to subordinate truth to one's own partisan views. It tends to discourage independent thinking, in matters on which such thinking is all essential.

Moreover, this belief in the infallibility of Marx may have consequences still more disastrous. Firmly believing that Socialism stands or falls with every detail of the Marxian system, the fanatical Socialist will lose faith in his principles, as soon as he perceives a flaw, in what he had taken to be flawless.

To prevent any possible misapprehension let me state right here, that I am actuated by no feeling of hostility or disrespect toward the truly venerable sage, Karl Marx. On the contrary, I am second to none in my unalloyed admiration of his personality and in my thorough appreciation of his inestimable services in the liberal struggle of humanity.

At the same time, I make bold to assert that, in my humble judgment, some of the doctrines of Marx do not share the character of axiomatic truths. His views on labor time as determining the reward of labor, are, it seems to me, particularly open to objection.

His theory on this subject may be stated as follows: All labor whatever is reducible to labor of the simplest kind. Skilled labor may be regarded as unskilled labor, intensified or multiplied. A given number of hours of the former is equivalent to a greater number of hours of the latter. Labor which requires years of preparation for its mastery is of a higher kind and has greater value than labor which calls for but a short period of preparation.

The rewards of different kinds of labor are to be determined, other things being equal, by two factors. These are: The number of hours devoted to labor, and the amount of time required for the acquisition of proficiency in the given trade or profession. One hour of skilled labor is equivalent to many hours of unskilled labor; hence, the recompense for one hour of skilled, should be manifold the return for one hour of unskilled labor.

"That this reduction (of skilled to unskilled labor) is constantly made," says Marx, "experience shows. . . . The different proportions in which different kinds of labor are reduced to unskilled labor as their unit of measure, are fixed by a social process beyond the control of producers, and therefore seem given to them by tradition or custom."

The above, I take it, is a fairly correct representation of Marx's position on the subject. When carefully examined these views do not, I think, command unqualified assent. Let us first consider the last part of the argument:

From the few sentences above quoted, Marx may be fairly charged with the tacit assertion that the earnings of the various forms of labor are, at present, determined by a reduction of skilled to unskilled labor. Now, unless I am grievously mistaken, this assertion runs counter to many facts of common experience. Whatever else be the "social process," which fixes the rewards of different kinds of work, it is not that assumed by Marx. I utterly fail to see by what standard of reduction one hour of a railroad manager's mock labor is made equal to 100 hours of a toiling operative. Nor do I see how the Marxian theory can account for the enormous gap between the salary of an opera singer and the wages of a seamstress. The

same holds true in regard to the wide discrepancy between the earnings of the majority of the so-called higher and lower occupations. Whether this discrepancy can be accounted for by the dismal law of "supply and demand," does not concern us here. Suffice it to say, that the Marxian theory fails to offer any adequate explanation.

To be sure, even now, skill and the period of preparation do count. But the prevailing mode of apportioning reward to exertion is so irregular and arbitrary, so much influenced by accidental circumstances, that these elements are either vastly overestimated or vastly underestimated. In other words, there is at present no fixed and definite "social process" by which different kinds of labor are rewarded according to the ratios which they severally bear to "simple average labor."

Moreover, were we to assume that the doctrine under consideration is meant to apply not to society as it is, but to society as it should be, there would still be room for objection. Even when thus qualified, this theory cannot to my thinking be accepted without some mental reservations.

Let me be clearly understood. I fully admit that all human exertion, being the expenditure of both muscular and nervous energy, is essentially one in kind, homogeneous in nature. All forms of labor, whether physical or intellectual, skilled or unskilled, involve both bodily and mental effort. All the assertions of glib-tongued sophists to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Yet, I hold that the attempt to establish a precise quantitative relation among widely differing kinds of labor cannot fail to encounter many serious difficulties. In other words, labor time as a measure of the remuneration of labor, seems to me to fall short of being an adequate working principle of social action.

I find no great difficulty in understanding how the multitudinous forms of manual labor, as well as many kinds of mental work, may, with rough approximation, be translated into terms of one another. With painful lack of exactness, it might, for instance, be said that one hour's work of a wood-carver is equivalent to two hours of a wood-chopper, the much longer period of preparation of the former being largely counterbalanced by the superior agreeableness of his work. Even here any attempt at precision would defy computation.

But apart from this there is a whole category of activities involving some of the highest flights of the intellect and the imagination, that cannot at all be estimated on any time basis. I refer to the occupations of poets, literateurs, artists, scientists and philosophers.

Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the poet. Without regarding him as an ethereal being, one cannot but think that the poet's activity is more or less irregular, uncertain and fitful. Under the influence of deep emotion, he may produce an exquisite poem, an imperishable gem of "passion-winged thoughts." Now, honor bright, how shall the poet's work (if work it be) be rewarded? Even the most liberal interpretation of the Marxian theory fails to apply in the case under consideration. The time devoted to composition is, in many instances, so short as to count for little or nothing. It is for the most part an undetermined and well-nigh undeterminable quantity. There is also no definite period of formal preparation. What is eminently true of the poet is equally true of artists of high excellence and in a less degree of literateurs.

Again, consider the case of the scientist, who devotes the major portion of his wakeful hours to the investigation of the laws which these phenomena exemplify. How shall his services be remunerated in accordance with the doctrine of Marx? By what method of calculation can one hour of thoughtful observation be reckoned in terms of so many hours of, say, ploughing?

From what has been said, it is manifest that the Marxian theory here considered, does not admit of universal application. While it holds true in the case of a great variety of occupations, it does not, I claim, hold true

(Concluded on page 4)

EDITORIAL NOTES.

In a true State the people would be over the government and not under.

All great works of genius have been achieved by individuals—plus the State.

The capitalist system not only creates want, but it is responsible for enormous waste.

A standing army in the United States will be the nursery of the swaggering king.

It is not true that uncertain employment is a "means of grace," and the poor are not "blessed."

The wealth of a thief has more consideration than the life of a man who helped to create the wealth.

The Socialists, be it remembered, were ahead of the Czar as advocates of universal peace and fraternity.

You think that Socialism would destroy the home. But does lack of employment tend to preserve the home?

The foundation of the government of the United States is wage labor. It works well for the "general welfare" of the "governors."

The man who says that the interests of capitalists and slaves are the same can find a plausible excuse for any crime on earth.

A man who is willing to acquire wealth by the labor of others, then uses it to keep others in want and misery, is a "fit" critic of Socialism.

Socialism seeks to create an environment that will be conducive to the health of society at large; it will bring life, liberty and love into the world.

"Socialists are not believers in individual liberty," we are told. But the opponents of Socialism are—in their own. Just what Socialists are not believers in is social inequality and industrial tyranny.

No Socialist is bound to furnish a complete chart and guide to the Cooperative Commonwealth; should one attempt it, frequent revision would be found necessary. One thing is certain, with social ownership of the means of production and distribution, Socialism would be co-extensive with the general good.

Capitalism has created an environment for millions of human beings that breeds disease and enlivens in death, and ghoul-like laughs over its own hideous work.

What should have gone into the stomachs, onto the backs, and over the heads of the men who work has gone into the mansions, and the luxuries and the rounded figures of the men they work for.

Mark Hanna, senator, labor crusher and political briber, who was opposed to the war at the outset, now says in twenty years the United States will own Cuba. His language is characteristically frank and brutal.

"We began the war," he says, "on immunitarian grounds, but we end it by becoming the possessors of great territory, important not only on account of commercial but also strategic possibilities."

Make no mistake as to the Socialist position on the one vital question of machine ownership. It is time that was well understood. We would substitute social or public ownership for private or capitalist ownership of machinery. It is in private individual ownership of the modern means of production that the wrong and injustice lies, and you may depend upon it there is no help for the working class, no relief to society, no higher altitude of civilization without social ownership.

Deprive the working class of their natural and social rights, deny them an opportunity to gain a livelihood, compel them to pay rent for the privilege of occupying land, maintain their separation from the means of production, burden them with war debts and the ruinous cost of militarism, confer powers on corporations to hound them from the cradle to the coffin, and if they are not model and contented citizens with such treatment, bring out the gatlings and murder them. That is the holy business of capitalism and a capitalistic government.

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION,

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION'S MISTAKE.

By Adolph Hepner.

St. Louis, Aug. 13, 1898.

Mr. President and Delegates:—I take the liberty to submit to your honorable body that I have made an application to the President of the United States for nomination on the "U. S. Non-Partisan Industrial Commission," to consist of five Senators, five Representatives and nine members appointed by the President of the United States.

My application is based on my thirty years' co-operation in the labor movement and study of political economy.

And I expressly manifested to the President in my application that I was neither a Republican nor a Democrat, but a Socialist of the evolutionary class, upholding constitution and law.

In my capacity as a Socialist I am naturally precluded from soliciting "political influence" in my behalf.

But this entitles me, I suppose, to my case before central labor organizations, as, for instance, your honorable body—with the polite request to consider if it be opportune to endorse my application. Specifically subjoining this to you, I remain,

Truly yours,

ADOLPH HEPNER.

806 Western Ave.

The Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, in their meeting of August 14, declared that letter "out of order" on account of Section 2, Article VI. of their constitution, which says:

Section 1. This body may discuss all legislative measures affecting the interests of labor, recognizing the fact that many of the burdens which labor bears are result of unjust and vicious legislation, which can only be remedied by educating the masses to a thorough realization of their present condition and their rights under a better system, with the knowledge of the power they hold to make and unmake laws.

Sec. 2. This body shall not endorse any individual for a political appointive office.

Sec. 3. This T. T. & L. U. shall not endorse or support in any manner either the Republican or Democratic Party, or any candidate of either, as there is, and can be, no issue between them which concerns labor's interest. And we caution all friends of labor, that any party which has outlived the original principle on which it was founded, necessarily takes sides on new issues only as far as compelled to do so, and then only on policy and to secure votes.

When, five years ago, Mrs. Florence Kelly of Chicago was a candidate for the office of Illinois Factory Inspector, and certain Socialists of Chicago doubted the advisability of endorsing her, because of the allegiance of Governor Altgeld, who held the appointive power to the Democratic Party, I gave in the "St. Louis Tageblatt" the following opinion, that to my knowledge, was never disapproved or contested by my comrades:

"Socialists are, indeed, naturally enjoined from applying for a political appointive office given as a sinecure either for services rendered to, or expected by, the capitalist parties.

"But it is quite different in regard to an office especially created to protect labor (as, for instance, Bureau of Labor, or factory inspector, etc.). Such office we may not only but shall have to take possession of, to prevent it being filled with an enemy to the cause of labor.

"A Socialist factory inspector would suit us best, for he understands and is willing to execute the law in behalf of protection of workingmen."

This was my opinion. I am alluding to it in order to indicate my surprise, when I learned that the T. A. L. U. "for want of constitutional competency" had declined to consider my letter of August 13, and ruled it out of order.

I was prepared, indeed, for any other reason of dismissal of my suggestion, but not on account of such misconception throughout the T. A. L. U. of their own constitution.

Let us see what it is about, this Article VI.

Section 1 reads: "This body may discuss all legislative measures affecting the interests of labor."

Well, the new congressional law on the "Non-partisan Industrial Commission" is a law of that kind the T. A. L. U. is allowed to discuss, and the appointment of the officers of the commission is a part of that law.

What is the use now of discussing the merits of a law affecting labor, if we exclude from discussion one part of the law, regarding the appointment of the officers to whom the execution of said law is to be trusted?

When we consider Section 1 to its full extent we cannot fail to conclude from it that Section 2: "This body shall not advise any individual for a

political appointive office," means political appointive office with exception of such offices as are rendered necessary by "laws affecting the interests of labor" (and admissible to discussion in the T. A. L. U., according to Section 1.)

This seems to me the only square and fair construction of Article VI., and in accordance with my opinion—the Mrs. Kelly case. Section 3 (dealing with Republicans and Democrats) cannot affect me at all as to the distinct knowledge of the T. A. L. U., I have neither a Republican nor a Democrat, but a Socialist of the evolutionary class, upholding constitution and law.

But this entitles me, I suppose, to my case before central labor organizations, as, for instance, your honorable body—with the polite request to consider if it be opportune to endorse my application. Specifically subjoining this to you, I remain,

Truly yours,

ADOLPH HEPNER.

The decision by which the T. A. L. U. ruled my letter out of order, is liable to make the "Industrial Commission" indeed, a "political" office in the traditional bad sense, while they had in their power to prevent it.

For, if Central Labor Organizations hold that the office of "Industrial Commission" is a "political" office of the average nature, that is to say, an office, the discussion of which is incompatible with the sincere pursuits of a labor organization, then said offices will be liable to be filled with proteges of politicians and problematic labor friends—while, if labor organizations hold, as they are justly expected to do, that the "Non-partisan Industrial Commission" shall not be a common "political job," but be filled with men who have acquired a thorough knowledge of the labor problem, and enjoy full confidence of their coworkers—then the president might listen to the suggestions of labor organizations as well as to the politicians, and might select at least a few men especially recommended and trusted by the laboring class.

Now, as it is, that ruling by the T. A. L. U. practically debars from candidacy all strict followers of an independent labor party and surrenders the right of successful candidacy as a privilege to such "labor advocates that find no fault with soliciting 'political influence' from capitalist parties in behalf of their application.

This much I feel I have to declare in justice to myself and to clear the situation strewn with misconceptions and misconstructions to the great disadvantage of labor legislation.

ADOLPH HEPNER.

THAT HOOLEY AFFAIR.

Ex-millionaire Hooley attended again at the London Bankruptcy Court on Monday for his public examination. At the outset disclaimers were made on behalf of a number of directors and others who were alleged to be Hooley to have required and received large sums of money for "going on the front page" of the prospectuses of his companies. Hooley directed a portion of his further evidence to the disclaimers, and made some fresh allegations.

With regard to the Earl of Winchilsea he produced a cheque which had been cashed, and which, he contended, proved his statements. He also said he was informed that his Lordship was ill, and did not authorize the disclaimer which had been made in his name. With regard to another member of the peerage, the debtor alleged that he had been offered £1,000 by a person whom he did not know, but who declared he had the money with him in gold, if he would withdraw his statement as to payments to his Lordship. He refused the offer, he said, and threatened to assault the man. Later in the day counsel emphatically repudiated this story.

Lord Albemarle caused an announcement to be made that he would return the £9,000 which he received from Hooley either to the debtor's estate or to the Duralop Company, although he did not understand that it was paid to him for the purpose of inducing him to become a director. Several other names were brought forward by the debtor, by way of explaining his extraordinary disbursements, and he related, among other things, his connection with Trafford Park, which, he said, had entailed a considerable loss upon him.

Altogether, these bankruptcy proceedings are decidedly piquant, and modern business methods are receiving bold advertisement.—London Clarion.

Social Democratic Herald.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY
BY THE
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OF AMERICA.

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Six Months, 25c. Address

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD,
Room 56, 123 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.



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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 10, 1898.

FUND FOR PRINTING OUTFIT.

Miners of Spring Valley, Ill.	\$6.50
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DISARMAMENT.

The proposal for disarming the nations has aroused the liveliest interest throughout Europe, and the announcement is made that the conference will probably be held at St. Petersburg. There seems to be no doubt whatever that the German government views the project with great favor. It is even said that for years past the Kaiser has discussed the question of partial disarmament with the Czar. Great Britain has signified her sympathy with the proposal, as also has Italy, and about the only one of the great nations to withhold support is France. The radical press throughout Europe seems to be a unit in hailing the project with joy, while the conservative journals generally regard it as a trick, made only with the intention of remanding the world of it later, when war will have broken out. A member of the Russian embassy at Berlin tells a correspondent that the Czar has been planning a partial disarmament for years; and that he was upon the point of issuing a proclamation twelve months ago, "when," he added, "at the Czar's request, we sent him all the recent German publications touching upon universal peace and disarmament."

Should the powers give to the world evidence of such absolute sanity as a realization of the Czar's proposal would afford, the next thing properly in order would be a series of great international demonstrations by Socialists favorable to the universal disarming of the private masters of capital and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the capitalistic system, which, being the procuring cause of war itself, entails more misery than war upon the people of all the nations.

A FREE PRESS.

Comrade Morris Jolles of Boston, an earnest and deeply-read member of the Social Democratic Party, is concerned in the question of a free press, believing it to be one of great moment to the party. He very properly attributes much of the trouble which attends another organization to the well-known attitude of its press, and claims that individual and trades union organizations have been misrepresented and abused because its members have not been allowed the free expression in its columns of their opinions. Comrade Jolles says: "The present infidelity of the tactics and the antagonistic attitude of the Social Labor Party towards the trades union movement, are directly traceable to the despotic censorship exercised over its press," and expresses an opinion that will be shared by every right-minded Social Democrat, to the effect that this question should be settled now, while the Social Democratic Party is in its infancy, to the end that the right of members to be heard on all important questions may never be abridged or denied.

Reference to The Herald for July 30 will show that there was printed in that number an article on this subject written by Comrade Margaret Haile. With the sentiments therein expressed, no member of the party has taken issue. There is no doubt in the mind of the writer that Comrade Haile's article reflects the opinion on this subject held by the membership at large.

But the matter should not rest on any individual opinion, nor the determining of what constitutes free discussion in any possible future contingency be-

left to any single person. Free discussion of party matters by members of the party should be a constitutional guarantee. In the absence of a constitutional recognition of the principle, Comrade Jolles is right in urging its importance at this time. For this reason we printed in last week's paper what had previously appeared in Comrade Huile's article, the amendment to the constitution adopted by Branch 7 of Massachusetts. It reads as follows:

"The columns of the official organs shall be at all times open to all reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party."

This question will be brought to the notice of the Executive Board at its next meeting, when all other suggested changes in the constitution will be acted upon.

A FARICAL IDEA:

John Clark Ridpath, in the Arena, cries out to the democrats, populists, silver republicans, single taxers, direct legislationists, radicals and "free lances of what kind and name soever," to unite in common cause, for then they will be invincible, whereas now in a divided state they are powerless. This is a very characteristic utterance and deserves a little attention so that it may not deceive too many. To speak plainly, it is foolish and vain advice. Unite for what? For office? He would hardly admit that. And as it is to be supposed that the representatives of the various schools of political thought are sincere, each believing that his particular remedy is the only one, how can they unite? But let us suppose a case. Take Capitalist Sewell of Maine, who is a representative silver democrat; Capitalist Silver Mine Owner Teller, who is a silver republican; take an individualistic single taxer, who doesn't want competition abolished; take Capitalist John Wanamaker, who is on record as in favor of direct legislation, and then pick out a radical and a free lance or two, some of Itmann's tedious imitators for instance, and then tell us what in mercy's name such a union would stand for that would help the laboring class in this country, which is the class most in need of succor? Will such an aggregation vote to have the capitalist class come down off the backs of labor? And if they will not, they can bring no relief to this woefully topsy-turvy society. The fact is that Mr. Ridpath is a dispenser of bad advice, however good his intentions may be. Like others of his peculiar class, he grows hysterical over abuses that are the mere incidents of the capitalistic system, and very carefully steers around the real cause of our industrial and social demoralization—the system itself. This is no time for timid men or for half-way measures—and they are not half-way at that. Mr. Ridpath would do much better to encourage the different schools of thought to bring their measures into fair combat, so that ultimately the true one may prevail. It is the only way and the way which Socialists know will bring the really serious defenders of the people round to finally demand the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production.

The idea of asking democrat and populist capitalists to bring relief to the people, is farcical. Their class interests are in a different direction.

WE TOLD YOU SO.

And lo! it cometh to pass that the one-plank fellows have their wish. The capitalist democratic party in several of the state conventions has put the initiate and referendum in its platforms. It is now in order for those worthies who said that all that was needed to save the country was a Referendum platform, to join the Democratic party and then calmly watch starvation disappear from the land!

Just as if giving the people a chance to do more voting would solve any of our social problems! It isn't more balloting the people need, but more sense of HOW to vote when they make use of the ballot. Let us not deceive ourselves, the people are ignorant. Labor would be free if the people wanted it free. Capitalists and capital's henchmen would cease getting fat offices if the people really did not want them there. This waiting for referendums is really an evidence that some of our people greatly overestimate the strength of their crowd. If a majority of the people really wanted Socialism to-morrow, no power under the heavens could prevail against them, even if blood had to flow. Many, we are glad to say, realize this fact and pay more stress to the matter of educating the people than they do to running "successfully" for office. That was why the Populists split; the sincere workers for principle had of necessity to part from the politicians, the fellows who saw a chance to appease their itch for office by fusion with the capitalistic Democrat party.

The sad truth must be admitted that this country is run by its ignorance. The fool voter decides all our elections. It was workingmen's ballots that elected Cleveland and the same thing that put McKinley in power. Lying politicians have played the toiling masses for suckers over and over again, and they will do it again this fall, with their fake initiative and referendum business.

There is a vast difference between a

demand for direct legislation by a vote-catching capitalist party, and such a demand by a socialistic party. Made by class conscious Socialist voters, it is an indication that it is demanded by those sufficiently awake to the needs of the people to make a right use of it. On the contrary, were it to be established through the instrumentality of a capitalist party, the people who voted for it would look upon it as a thing more or less the property of that party, and that party would be able to use it in various partisan ways and to stampede the fool people at its will, just as the capitalist republican party has made partisan use of its protection policy. In other words, when the people will be able to get direct legislation through a Socialist majority, they may be trusted to use it wisely. On the other hand, if they get it through the grace of a capitalist party, they will make a huddle-headed use of it, just as they did in Switzerland when capital punishment was restored by means of the Referendum. Capitalism is being hard pushed by the restlessness of the plundered people and is resorting to various tricks to keep the masses contented. If it makes a concession in the matter of the referendum, it is because it knows it can make use of it for its own unholy purposes. For capitalism has control of the press of the country, and that press is a power in molding the minds of the people. It has the pulpits, too, and the public speakers and the power of the employers' "persuasion." It will give the people the referendum, and then with the power of its opinion molders it will cause them to vote in its own interests, just as it did when it elected McKinley—and, by the way, what was that but a referendum?

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.

Revolution as applied to politics is the sudden, violent and fundamental change of government, or existing laws. It therefore forms a part of evolution as, for instance, the igniting of the phosphorescent substance of potassium, used for matches, is a revolution epoch in the evolutionary process by which the match with all its substances has been evolved up to the burning of the match, and forever thereafter, no matter what may happen to the substances of which the match was composed. It therefore follows, in the evolution of the different substances of a match, that one, or granted several, violent changes, revolutions, may take place which can never as part of evolution be taken for the whole. While one can speak of evolution without implying certain violent changes which happen during evolutionary epochs, that is, revolution, it must be admitted that the gradual changes in the laws and form of government, as well as its application, for instance, the state Socialism practiced in some foreign countries, do in no sense imply revolution, though the changes are a part of evolution.

If one professes to be an evolutionist in politics, he evidently professes at the same time to be an anti-revolutionist, favoring a peaceful, gradual clearing away of existing disorder, corruption, and capitalist exploitation. That an evolutionist must be a revolutionist does not even hold good in theory. In the various branches of natural history, biology, geology, etc., it is entirely different: there it holds good in theory as well as in practice, because the lower forms of animal, vegetable and other forms of life are void of will-power and are entirely subject to natural and sexual selection as well as all other influences; morality playing no part of the evolution of life except human life. If one be a revolutionist in politics, he, no doubt, is ready at any time to overthrow and think it his duty and right to overthrow any "government that becomes destructive of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and to institute a new government." The lower form of nature and animal life is entirely passive, while man through his power of speech, together with his highly developed power of "associating the most diversified sounds and ideas," all of which is the outcome of a long evolutionary epoch, makes it his moral duty to revolutionize any form of government that he deems fit for destruction.

A revolutionist in politics is self-evidently an evolutionist, par excellence, for he will be to the verge of his own physical destruction. The revolutionist has a stronger desire to live than the evolutionist, and his readiness to sacrifice his individual self for the betterment of conditions is a strong affirmative of his desire to live. The suicide and the revolutionist are products of circumstances; their honor, self-respect and desire to live under better than existing conditions leads them to sacrifice their lives, and none but cowards will reprove them for their acts and deeds. Of course, we must not have in mind the numerous cases of false honor, self-respect and desire for self, where moral depravity has set in and our present system has done its worst. Evolution of the human race to day means a prolongation of agonies, be they justifiable or not; revolution means a desire to destroy or be destroyed rather than submit to indignities, exploitation, robbery, corruption, wholesale slaughter of defeated heroes and the starving to death of thousands of hard working and half-fed people.

Spirit of seventeen seventy-six, revive!

CARL PANKOFF.

AS TO OFFICIAL ORGANS.

Some Socialists are saying just now, "Official organs are a mistake. I don't believe in them anyhow."

These are honest people, who see the mischief that has been wrought by the abuse of one Socialist official organ in this country, and are desirous that the Social Democratic Party shall not fall into the same pitfall.

If an official organ's reason for being was to serve as a mouthpiece for some particular boss or editor or executive committee, or all three combined in one person, to the exclusion of everything else, then it is to be established through the instrumentality of a capitalist party, the people who voted for it would look upon it as a thing more or less the property of that party, and that party would be able to use it in various partisan ways and to stampede the fool people at its will, just as the capitalist republican party has made partisan use of its protection policy.

In other words, when the people will be able to get direct legislation through a Socialist majority, they may be trusted to use it wisely. On the other hand, if they get it through the grace of a capitalist party, they will make a huddle-headed use of it, just as they did in Switzerland when capital punishment was restored by means of the Referendum. Capitalism is being hard pushed by the restlessness of the plundered people and is resorting to various tricks to keep the masses contented. If it makes a concession in the matter of the referendum, it is because it knows it can make use of it for its own unholy purposes.

For capitalism has control of the press of the country, and that press is a power in molding the minds of the people. It has the pulpits, too, and the public speakers and the power of the employers' "persuasion." It will give the people the referendum, and then with the power of its opinion molders it will cause them to vote in its own interests, just as it did when it elected McKinley—and, by the way, what was that but a referendum?

Another highly important function of a party organ is to afford an opportunity for the discussion of party matters, especially of party policy and any proposed changes therein. This is necessary in order to arrive at the wisest methods, as well as to enable the whole membership to thoroughly understand and be able to defend not only the party's principles but also its policy, and to have the shaping of its course. For example, our friend from Puckerbrush frankly criticized our Farmers' Program. In reply we get Victor Berger's masterly presentation of the farmer problem as it really stands, which I venture to guess is a new view of the case to the majority of American Socialists. I, for one, am glad to have the situation in the West so clearly presented, and if any other member can get up and prove that Victor Berger is mistaken in his facts, and consequently in his conclusions from them, I shall be glad of that too; and so, I know, will Victor Berger. What we want is the truth as it manifests itself to-day; and that we must have before we can know how to deal with the situation before us. Free discussion will help us to arrive at it quicker than anything else. If we had all of us frankly and freely stated all we thought about the colonization plan several months ago, the "split," or more properly the re-organization, would not have come as such a surprise to most of us. And if the Socialist Labor Party had permitted such free and full discussion in its official organ during the last four or five years, in all probability there would not have been two Socialist political parties in America to-day.

Again, the more scientific articles from the pens of the old-timers are necessary for the assistance of our newer members; and these, together with the news and the discussions, impart to the paper a sort of party personality, a Social Democratic individuality, which distinguishes it from all others. As it is well to have a high ideal of what our party paper should be; and though we may not in all respects attain to it, we can at least have a try at it. Its attainment will depend on the members themselves. As our able editor is not a war correspondent nor a plutocratic press reporter, I presume we shall have to send in the news and the discussions and the articles ourselves, and not depend on him to manufacture them.

Such a paper would be a genuine party organ. It would be the voice of our organization, speaking forth its thoughts and desires, telling its needs and its resources, and recording its deeds, its hopes and its triumphs. It would be the use and not the abuse of an official organ.

MARGARET HAILE.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES.

The local branches of the party will find it a good plan to keep standing notices of meetings in The Herald, giving time, place and name of secretary. This can be done usually in two or three lines. Such notices will be run every week for \$3 a year; quarterly, \$1. Send in your copy for the next issue.

PLATFORM OF THE S. D. P.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the social share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other minerals; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for \$ per month.]

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary, John Doerner, treasurer.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 12th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 333½ Iowa avenue.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Frank Whitney, Roanoke building, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p.m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Marian Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p.m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p.m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

THE PARTY IN WISCONSIN.

For Governor—Howard Tuttle, Milwaukee.

For Lieutenant-Governor—E. P. Hassinger, Broadhead.

For Secretary of State—Thos. C. P. Myers, Milwaukee.

For State Treasurer—August Mohr, Sheboygan.

For Attorney-General—Richard Eisner, Milwaukee.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction—L. O. Stoll, Eau Claire.

For Railroad Commissioner—Charles Richter, Racine.

For Insurance Commissioner—Eugene H. Rooney, Milwaukee.



HOWARD TUTTLE.

The hosts of the Wisconsin Social Democracy assembled in the Freie Gemeinde Hall, Milwaukee, Friday evening, September 2, and nominated a full state ticket. There was an attendance of over 200, and it was regarded as a significant fact that there were more present than were at the Populist state convention three days before. In fact Populism is in its death throes here as well as in most other places. The ticket as above was selected.

The convention presented a pleasing picture as Victor L. Berger rapped for order. On all sides were radiant faces, alert with that earnestness that comes from a righteous and inspiring cause. Comrade Berger said that he derived great pleasure from opening Social Democracy's first state convention, and he was assured that the proceedings would reflect credit on the movement and on the participants. It was true the convention showed some contrasts with those of the old parties just held. There was no wealth of "patriotic" bunting, or brass bands or galleries full of ladies, but this was because Social Democrats stood for the dispossessed class and had no money for such things.

Robert Meister, our candidate for mayor in the spring campaign, was made chairman, and Emil Seidel, a fine example of the militant Socialist, was made secretary. The platform committee consisted of comrades Berger, Bower, Arnold, Rehfeld and Fisch. It reported the following platform, which was adopted:

The first demand of man's nature is to be free; the second is the opportunity to better his condition. Only freedom and opportunity make the pursuit of happiness possible. We are often told that we live in a free country, under a free government, and that no man possesses special privileges. This is not true. To call a man free does not make him so. To call a country a republic does not mean that the people rule.

A man must be master of the conditions of his own life, or at least enjoy an equal right for an existence with everybody else, or he is a slave. What does it mean to be a slave? to be compelled to accept the conditions of another for the privilege of existing? If a man has to sell himself, i.e., his time, to another individual, in order to make a living, his life depends on somebody else. That, alas! is the condition the working people are in today.

The claim that the workingman is free to accept or refuse the terms of the employer is sheer nonsense. When

the alternative is starvation or exile, he must accept. For this reason all talk about "freedom of contract" is an insult to the intelligence of the people. If the workers were at least as sure of their shelter, clothing and food as their employers, then there might be freedom of contract. The necessity that compels one man to work for another, whether he wishes to or not, makes one man the slave of another. Under these conditions workmen are merchandise. The abolition of negro slavery brought an end to only one kind of servitude. Industrial slavery degrades the most useful part of the population and breeds and perpetuates ignorance, misery and corruption throughout society. Corruption prevails not only in official circles, but everywhere in our present society. The little extravagances of our officials is a small matter indeed, compared to the great exploration of the workers by the capitalist classes as a whole.

Nothing short of a constitutional revolution can bring help, and where is that to come from? The old political parties do not differ materially from each other. Both are the property of the class that lives by the toll of the wage-slave. Both parties are increasing corruption. The leaders of the now dying People's party have joined forces with the plunders of labor. The so-called reform parties have failed because they tried to change men without changing the conditions that they lived under.

The Social Democratic Party therefore calls on all honest men who do not yet despair of the future of humanity, to unite under its banner. We do not aim at a mere change in officeholders, for we realize that until the present economic system is changed, the best of men can do little and are themselves in danger of being corrupted.

We see that the private ownership of the means of production, i.e., the leaving of the nation's industries in the hands of a greedy few, is responsible for the present state of society. It is therefore the aim of the Social Democratic Party of America to emancipate the people from their degrading condition by the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of our country be equitably shared by the whole people, and the source of avarice and corruption be abolished.

The first steps toward the transformation and reorganization of society must necessarily be a limitation of the present unbridled exploitation, and by the consequent raising of the standard of life within the masses. As measures tending to palliate the evils of our present system of society, we endorse the demands of our national platform, and, furthermore, present the following measures for immediate enactment in the state of Wisconsin:

1. The fixing of a normal working day in all industries which are working under the factory system. The working day shall not exceed eight hours. Also an unbroken rest for at least thirty-six hours for every wage-worker every week.

2. Prohibition of the employment of children under 16 years of age (under penalty of fine). The employment of women at night in factories and workshops to be also forbidden.

3. School education of all children under 16 years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all, by public assistance in meals, clothing, etc., wherever necessary. Free maintenance of such pupils, male or female, in higher educational institutions after 16 years of age as are judged to be fitted for further education.

4. Books and utensils to be furnished free to all the children in the public schools and higher institutions.

5. Removal of all pauper, tramp and conspiracy laws. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city and state).

6. Legal incorporation by the state of Wisconsin Trade Unions and Farmers' alliances. The state of Wisconsin to insure farmers' property against fire, hail, etc., at a rate not to exceed the cost.

7. Laws for the protection of health, life and limb and an efficient employers' liability law.

8. Free administration of the law and free legal assistance to all citizens, and compensation to persons accused, imprisoned or condemned unjustly.

9. Free medical assistance and a free supply of remedies to all.

10. A graduated income and property tax to meet all public expenses which are to be met by taxation. The corporations to pay their just share accordingly.

11. Universal suffrage without distinction of sex of all adults who can read and write in any language. Holding elections on a legal day of rest.

12. Direct legislation by the people by means of the initiative and the veto. The veto power of the governor to be abolished. The imperative mandate for our legislators and also proportional representation in order to have the minorities represented. The senate to be abolished.

Meanwhile the committee on resolutions, made up of comrades Mohr of Sheboygan, Schweitzer of Bay View,

Blodgett, Shupok and Liebig, had not been idle and presented three resolutions. They denounced the action of capitalism and its government toward the Oshkosh strike, urged all workers to join the unions, and pledged the cooperation of the party in the Labor Day celebrations.

The election of candidates was accomplished with enthusiasm. The committee composed of Comrades Ziegler, Richter, of Racine; Rubin, Malewski and Brown, proposed two names for each office, and in each case one or the other gracefully withdrew in favor of the other, so that the nominations were made by acclamation. During the intervals when the committees were out, addresses were made by Howard Tuttle and Thos. C. P. Myers.

Howard Tuttle, the candidate of the party for governor, is a scenic artist, and a hard worker for the cause. He was at one time a member of the People's party.

LABOR DAY AT MILWAUKEE.

The Federated Trades of Milwaukee celebrated Labor Day, and among the incidents of the occasion were addressed by three Socialists, George Koop, a printer of Chicago, said: "My fellow workmen, we pay for our Labor Day, for to-day our labor stops. The government cares for those who go insane; it furnishes institutions to educate; it protects property by fire and police departments; it gives employment to the criminal; why can't it do as much for the unemployed? As a trades unionist, I believe everyone of you fellow-workers should vote for yourselves and stand united for your class interest on Election Day."

Jules Vahlteich of Chicago, a Social Democratic member of the Reichstag from 1874 to 1881, said "only by thorough organization, for your own improvement, can you hope to accomplish any permanent results. Wherever capitalism prevails, you will find the proletariat. It creates everywhere the same results. The great masses of the working people are dependent upon the small capitalist class for employment. The only way of preventing increased want and the destruction of the present system itself is to abandon profit making and produce collectively. To this end and purpose the Social Democratic Party was organized. Under present conditions the laboring man is the living appendage of the machine, and the employer cares more for the machine than for the man. If the latter is ill, there is another to take his place. If the machine gets out of order it must be repaired at a loss of property as well as the expense of repairing."

Seymour Stedman said: "For hundreds of years the political power of state and nation has made thrones secure, reduced wages, fixed long hours of toil and regulated the duties of craftsman and journeyman. After the overthrow of arbitrary rules by industrial development, those who rule preach laissez faire. The government may protect industries, charter companies, give land and bounties to capital, and when labor asks for aid, those beneficiaries of government denounce paternalism. On such occasions as these you are told often to keep out of politics. What do such advisers mean? You vote and talk 16 to 1, which means 16 grains of non-sense to 1 grain of no sense. You decide capitalistic questions, and issues, so when pure and simple tell you to keep out of politics, they simply protest against your united action at the ballot box in behalf of your class, because you might then vote for the free coöperation of labor, i.e., the erection of factories by the government, and each producer drawing from the national warehouses food and raiment for services rendered. Even as trade unionists, you might vote to have the convicts produce in one state (according to location), articles, to supply, through exchange, the convicts of states with different natural advantages. Thus the 75,000 convicts who are now engaged in over thirty-two different occupations, would cease to produce articles for the market, in competition with wage-slaves."

By united political action in your own behalf only can you accomplish your own redemption. There are machines you have seen in cigar stores; you touch a spring which throws the dice, thus the cigar is won or lost; the machine decides the capitalist question and gets nothing. That is your position in the industrial regime."

WHERE TRADES UNIONISTS

WILL FIND THE S. D. P.

The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Social Democratic Party Platform.

LABOR DAY AT SHEBOYGAN.

The following is an extract from the address of Comrade A. E. Gammie at Sheboygan:

What have I to say to you—you who have stood the heat and burden of the day; who have lived to labor until you have lived to see the very name of labor become the synonym of weakness oppressed. To you whose patient toll through years of pain and suffering, through the loss of limb and life spent out in patient toll have eked out a bare subsistence, while those for whom you have worked have grown fat and indifferent. Shall I preach to you patience still, forbearance still, the gospel of love and of peace still where there is no patience, no forbearance, no love, no peace reaching out to you, but all is grind, grind, grind! Yes, patience still, for though time was when revolution was thought to be the handmaid of Socialism, the history of the movement demonstrates that revolution is her worst enemy. Is France, with her revelations in the Dreyfus case any better than Russia would be under the teachings of her Tolstol. Is the cause of labor in France as far in the vanguard of progress as it is in peace-loving Germany. I tell you that the progress of the cause you love and so long have stood for lies along the lines of peaceful methods, along the lines of lawful means to lawful ends—by the ballot, not by the bullet, by argument and not by force. Principles lead to measures, after measures—men to enforce those measures. It is no more possible for a nation to step from the condition of free and independent individualism into a state of parental Socialism at one bound than it is for infancy at a single bound to attain a state of manhood, yet if you consult your own experiences in the past, you will realize how even the first steps in the direction toward which your eyes have been so long turned you have failed to take. If the anti-election convictions of the laboring classes of this country had found their concrete expression in your ballots at the polls the cause of labor would stand first always in the vanguard of issues before the American people, and yet a vote at the polls is only a step in the right direction. Even when you elect your leaders, which has not been often, they are pledged to no measures, they have no fixed, unvarying principles upon which to frame beneficial legislation, they know not any settled policy, they aim at no specific or definite results. The consequence is that energy which is opposed to your cause being concentrated overcomes and defeats the much greater energy in favor of your cause which is dissipated. Patience did I say—yes, patience, but not patience with the monied power that oppresses you, with the plutocracy that grinds its iron heel into the neck of the myriad poor, not patience with laws which give special privileges to the favored few and rob the many, not patience with existing conditions, but patience to study the wants and needs of the common people, patience to evolve out of the mass of theory and of abstractions means that are practical to ends that are practical, but above all patience to learn and know the character of the men with whom you intrust your cause, and in this connection I want to say that honesty of purpose, while an ingredient, is not of itself sufficient to insure success. It takes special ability to be and become a leader of thought in any direction. It takes special ability, and of the highest order to make measures for the uplifting of humanity successful—in these times. The natural course of our civilization is outward and downward, the selfishness of the individual was never so abundantly demonstrated as it is today. Corporations and trusts, the trust is but an incorporation of corporations, are the very acme, the crowning point and zenith of personal selfishness, and individualism, which has tasted of the fruits of its toll and of its effort, will not stand hands down while Socialism strives to strike it down. The best talent, the best energies of which the race is capable are to-day arrayed on the side of the existing order of things, and that talent and energy must be met by a talent and energy equally as high. All of life is a battle, despise the fact as ye will, disguise it, cover it up, deny it, the fact remains that victory is to the strong. And while it is possible to prevail it is only possible for Socialism to prevail through the means and by the way indicated.

If you are in earnest about your cause, vote as you think and as you talk—look to your leaders—see to it that they are men first Socialists then honest, and in so much as they are honest, see to it that they are also capable. The Portuguese Republican journals treat Socialism and the Socialists very fairly, reporting all their meetings, etc. The students of the University have formed themselves into a Socialist group and in the University of Coimbra a young professor of political economy openly advocates Socialism. Theaters often play anti-capitalist pieces. The principal claim for Socialism is that it would do all those things which are essential to the security and happiness of the individual more effectively than these things can be done by private enterprise.

Count Leo Tolstoy recently visited a famine locality in the Orel province, Russia. He found that the peasants' food consisted of "soup" made of grass, and of an insufficient quantity of rye bread. When he wished to change a bank note of three roubles (from 6s. to 7s. in value), he found this to be impossible, as the whole village did not possess so much as one rouble.

Every member who receives The Herald should regard it as a duty to the party to secure one or more subscriptions at 50 cents per year. The paper is yours, and the movement will grow with its circulation.

ST. LOUIS LOCAL TICKET.

The Social Democratic Party at St. Louis held an enthusiastic convention at Gymnasium Hall and nominated the following city and state ticket:

For Judge of the Supreme Court, long term—Albert E. Sanders.

Judge of the Supreme Court, short term—G. A. Hoch.

Superintendent of Public Schools—James A. Kendall.

Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner—George Storz.

Judges of the Circuit Court—Jacob L. Franz, J. C. Wibel and Joseph Filler.

Judge of the Court of Criminal Correction—Anton Loy.

Judge of the Probate Court—William Ruesche.

Recorder of Deeds—A. F. Haessler.

Clerk of the Circuit Court—L. Stoll.

Clerk of the Court of Criminal Correction—William Brandt.

Clerk of the Probate Court—N. Berling.

Clerk of the Probate Court—Charles Specht.

Prosecuting Attorney—Martin Erd.

Assistant Prosecuting Attorney—W. H. Scott.

Sheriff—F. Meier.

Coroner—Stanley D. Peet.

City organization was then taken up, and the following city central committee elected by the convention:

From the First Congressional District—A. E. Sanders, chairman, and Haessler and Hoch.

From the Third District—Meier, Keefer and Krause. No members were appointed from the other districts, and immediately after the selection of the committee the convention adjourned.

MASSACHUSETTS MOVING.

Massachusetts Branch 19, Chelsea, held an agitation meeting last week, with Mrs. A. Komkov as speaker. Twelve new members were added. Bravo! Chelsea. Do it again!

Some people think the movement in Massachusetts is dead just because we are not making a great splash and holding numerous big and enthusiastic meetings just now. If these people could see behind the scenes they would know better. If they could see the hard, necessary preliminary work of the campaign that is being put in by committees and individual members everywhere, they would know that we are very much alive, and preparing to demonstrate that fact to the public just as soon as the weather cools off enough to allow the public to be aware of anything. Think of this, for instance: within one week from the time the nomination papers were in the hands of the branches, over half the necessary thousand signatures had been obtained, and there is every reason to believe that the full quota will be turned in within another week! And yet some of our more cautious comrades feared we were too late in getting out the papers, and couldn't get the thousand signatures before October 17! We have now started to raise funds for the campaign. We need at least two hundred dollars. That looks large, I know, but when the Massachusetts comrades know what they have to do to make the matter in hand successful, they can do it.

Preparations for the joint picnic at Spring Pond, Peabody, on the 18th, are progressing smoothly. Speaking and the singing of labor songs will be features of this occasion. Our popular candidate for governor, Comrade Porter, and Rev. Cass W. Casson are expected to be present. Tickets are selling rapidly. A special car will leave the corner of Hanover and Court streets at 10 a.m. sharp, to carry the Boston people to the grounds.

Another matter of great "strategic" importance in the campaign is the circulation of the Herald in

WHERE'S DEBS?

By Mrs. H. S. G. LAKE.

"Where's Debs these days? Is he fighting for his country with his rifle, or is he engaged in the same old business of fighting it with his mouth?"—*Iwaco Journal*.

Where's Debs? "Worn out" fighting the monster of Capitalism; sitting alone with some shadows of sadness; But surrendered? No, never! Surrender to what? The loud-mouthed mountebanks Who rule the land with the rifles of workingmen? Fight? and for what? The thought of another, A hypocrite, who says the man who works has a country; No, the idlers have this, the drones, and the foul ones.

But the great hearts, like Debs, they say the true things and suffer. He is a brave man who can say the true things to-day, Can say that evil is evil, And wrong is the same in rich and in poor.

Where's Debs? Drawing back pay for devotion to truth. Those who have heard him, and know his brave spirit, Know well his nobility. For shame, scribbler, you ought to bend low! And ask pardon for tamts so ill-timed! Where's Debs? Where he ought to be, At home, after giving his service, in lavish bestowment. On those who betray him, Alas! man, thou art blind to the right, And must sure be reborn. Our great-hearted Debs is safe, for all time. With those who have known of his sacrifice. Olympia, Wash.

WASTED AMMUNITION.

Some of the Populist and reform papers continue to print from time to time the "Hazard Circular," the "Buell Bank Circular," an alleged article from the London Times about greenbacks, "published at the close of the Civil War," an alleged quotation from Abraham Lincoln on corporations, and a "Panic Bulletin." Occasionally, also, the statement that Ernest Seyd came to this country in 1873 with a satel full of money to influence Congress to demonetize silver appears. Doubtless these paragraphs serve a useful purpose. They are evidently kept standing, and the expense of composition for new matter is saved the thrifty newspaper publisher. We believe each is an unmitigated forgery. All bear internal marks of having been written for the purpose sought in their frequent republication. We should like to believe that Abraham Lincoln actually used the words attributed to him; but the denial of John G. Nicolay, once his private secretary, is well nigh authoritative. The Seyd affair has been so completely and frequently exploded as to need no further attention. The "Hazard Circular," the "Buell Bank Circular" and the London Times editorial are intrinsically too silly to be genuine. The "Panic Bulletin" of 1893 is possibly genuine; but we should want some pretty good proofs to that effect before accepting it. Our own opinion is that one hand forged the entire lot, with the possible exception of the last named. Reform, both of working conditions and of finance, has too much justice on its side to need bolstering by such means. —American Fabian.

A HUNT AFTER DIVIDENDS.

Earl Grey, who opened the annual flower show at the Crystal Palace, London, in connection with the National Co-operative Festival, delivered a lengthy address on the advantages of co-operation.

"What," he asked, "is the ideal for a working man? It is this: That having secured a home of comfort by reasonable hours of labor, he should have the opportunity after working hours of taking part in suitable recreation, and that this opportunity should be obtainable at a cost within his means. Even the individual rich man is powerless to obtain by himself, in many instances, the amusement he requires; he can only secure the opportunity of obtaining such amusement by joining with others—through collective action. What is there but want of organization to prevent a similar collective action securing similar advantages for working men?"

"The present weakness of the Wholesale Co-operative movement lay in the fact that it had degenerated too much into a hunt after dividends. Co-operators to-day had abandoned the faith of the founders of the movement, and were organizing co-operation on the basis of selfishness."

His Lordship read the co-operators an excellent homily on the virtues of unselfishness.

"The experience of ages showed," he averred, "that to stir human nature to altruistic effort, a cause was required which appealed to man's nobler feelings, and called for sacrifice. The missionary, the reformer, the trade unionist—all supplied instances of the subordination of self interests to those of a higher cause."

"He looked in vain, in the distributive movement, for an equally inspiring

cause, which would lift men out of the narrow groove of selfishness and impel them to labor for the common good; and yet the gospel of co-operation, preached by the founders of the movement, was virtually a religion, which appealed to the highest feelings of human nature, and caused men to cheerfully submit to heavy pecuniary losses, and frequent disappointments, in the certain faith that eventually their principles would triumph. If co-operation was to become a living force, in moving the character of the nation along an upward plane, it must return to the spirit of its founders, and show that it had a soul above a shop-keeper's."—*The Clarion*.

THE DEPARTMENT STORES.

To one who can see the humorous side of the evolutionary process going on in the economic world—for it has a grim humor of its own—it would be amusing were it not so sad, to witness the struggles of the small traders and business men of this and other cities while being slowly, but with the relentlessness of fate, forced into bankruptcy and ruin by that modern juggernaut, the department store. The organization of business men's associations, the wide circulation of special literature appealing to small property holders and wage earners to join in a crusade against the common enemy, forcibly recalls that scene in Bellamy's "Looking Backward," where Julian West dreams that he is again living in the 19th century instead of the year 2000 and sees and hears the clamor and greed of the competitive system, from which he thought he had forever escaped. "Here am I—John Smith. I sell the best goods for the least money. I deal on the square. Trade with me! I help support the church and pay more taxes than that other fellow. I employ labor and pay living wages."

These are the arguments brought forward in support of the individual method of business to-day and then mark the solicitude to conserve the financial interest of the wage earning class, assuming that the wage earners are too stupid to understand that it is always the consumer of products and not the exchanger who pays the rent, taxes, wages of employees engaged in distributing goods, interest on capital invested, insurance, etc., for the small dealer, just as the consumer pays similar tribute in rent, interest and profits to the department store.

Concentration of capital and energy in all departments of production and distribution is the order of the new time and the department store is only one expression of this concentration. The day of small business success has passed to return no more. Department stores have come to stay and legislative enactments cannot save the small dealer from his doom, any more than the strike and the boycott will save the wage earner from competition with the labor-saving machine which neither eats nor sleeps. "Business is business," and business knows no ethics but gain! In cities like Chicago and New York the struggle is no longer between the small merchant and the department store, but between department stores themselves; the larger absorbing the less, just as in the ocean the large fish swallow the smaller and this process can only be limited by the business capacity of individuals, or combination of individuals. There is only one solution of the problem confronting the wage earner and small business man alike and that is Socializing all the means of production and distribution: In other words, inauguring "scientific Socialism."

The Socialist recognizes the struggle going on between the man of small means and the larger capitalist—between the wage earner and the man who owns the tools he works with.

says the struggle will go on and on until the great army of the dispossessed and disinherited take possession, not only of department stores but all that makes for righteousness of living. Hall the day!

ANNA FERRY SMITH.

Itodani, the Socialist candidate for Cossato, was duly elected to the Italian Parliament, but has been cheated out of his seat. The government has annulled the election and ordered another ballot.

The funeral of Bismarck was in the nature of a farce. The public in Berlin refused to participate, and only the officials and some of the nobility and bourgeoisie took part. Now the subsidized press is attempting to explain.

In his inaugural address Dr. Narvaez, the Socialist, who has just been elected president of the Paris municipality, denounced the state veto on decisions of that body, and the refusal to it of the autonomy enjoyed by other cities.

In the by-election at Turin, Italy, for a member of Parliament to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Minister of War, the Socialist candidate received 865 votes, the Conservative 589, and the Liberal 567 votes. When it is considered that the Socialist party was prohibited from holding meetings and that the most brutal intimidation was practiced by the authorities, and the recent slaughter and wholesale imprisonment, the victory is marvelous.

THE SONG OF THE WAR-FIEND.

Ha! ha! Ha! ha! for the feast of blood,
For the carnival of gore,
When men shall fight, by day and night,
And stay on sea and shore.
"Kill, kill!" "Kill, kill," is my order shrill,
And the mad of man is mad;
And the angel of Grace doth hide her face,
And the soul of Peace is sad.

The powers of hell will aid me well,
As I fiercely rise from sleep;
Riches and skill shall obey my will,
The harvest of Death to reap.
The joys that Peace in a hundred years
Has earned, in a day I'll take;
I'll fairly scream as the cannons gleam,
And a million hearts shall break.

Yet what care I for the widow's cry,
Or the orphan's feeble wail?
When the ocean tides with blood is dyed,
And the fire sweeps till dark and pale.
And little I care for the mother's prayer,
When her son lies cold and stark,
For deep is the death from the blasting
"When the war-dogs wildly bark."

Aud glassy eyes shall gaze at the skies,
Mute lips to Heaven appeal;
And the likeness of God be crushed to the
sod.
"Neath the trap of the war-field's heel,
Ha! ha! Ha! ha! for the feast of blood,
For the carnival of gore,
When men shall fight, by day and night,
And stay on sea and shore.

—London Echo.

THE BOOK REVIEWER.

We have received a copy of a bound volume, "The Legal Revolution of 1902." It is a book of some 334 pages. The author writes under a pen name. This book is published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Its publication contains less sense and more nonsense mixed in over 300 pages than the reviewer has read for some time.

The author quotes from speeches and documents to show prevalence of the opinion that the American Republic is fast drifting to a violent revolution, but one, Mishler, a lawyer, persuades certain capitalists, state representatives, to ask for a change and amendments to the national constitution. The legislature of a sufficient number of states are secured and many of the rich are under the impression that the amendments, to be made in the constitution, are to assist in the security of capitalism, but, as if by magic, when the convention convenes, the Socialists, or rather the reformers with Socialist tendencies, immediately capture the convention by some secret and subtle organization and the amendments are made providing for a referendum, the imperative mandate, and proportional representation of congressmen. The president and senators are to be elected by a public vote.

This is accomplished before the capitalists catch on and before the people realize what is being done. In other words, the people are "reformed behind their backs." Likewise, the constitution provides for an income and inheritance tax, and then the final amendment is adopted, which confiscates all fortunes over and above \$500,000; the government to nationalize all industries; then the capitalists protest; England sends her ships to American shores, but lo! and behold! some men of great craft leave the American shores in a row boat, and, at night time, climb up the sides of the British man-of-war and take possession one after the other. The soldiers belonging to Great Britain in Canada become captives and are, according to their will, naturalized as American citizens.

The author presents some few reasons to support his different contentions, but in the main, the work is written in a disconnected manner and the reader is impressed strongly with a mixed collection of ideas from "John Harvey," "John Smith, president," "Equality," "Looking Backward" and "Human Drift."

It will serve as a book of the present intellectual attitude of the Democratic Party. It is going to reform the earth by an eighth of an inch at a time; the people are going to become Socialists without knowing it; they are going to declare in favor of great reforms, in a convention where the capitalists are completely misguided and befuddled.

To quote the author: "Surely plutocracy which has so long fooled the people had been themselves fooled for once." It is needless to observe that capitalists and capital will never be fooled, although overpowered.

The author argues in the interest of free silver, and it may be easily understood from a Socialist standpoint that one who believes in that, as even a step in advance, does not understand Socialism, and the author, furthermore, consummates his great millennium with William J. Bryan as president. The man who has already declared that silver was paramount to the nationalizing of railways; who does not believe in single tax, and who does not believe in Socialism.

For the serious people, this work has a special value, for it is probably the most humorous work that was ever written by an evidently serious minded author.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

Mrs. Gov. Wallace of Indiana, "the mother of Ben Hur," relates that a man once asked, "If women vote, how about the bad women?" She answered: "You take care of the bad men and we will agree to take care of the bad women; and we shall not have nearly so hard a task as you will, for there are not nearly so many of them."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY.

The following list of books is by no means complete, but it contains many of the ablest works on Economics, Politics and the Labor Movement. Any books desired, but not included in the list, will be procured at publisher's prices. Orders sent to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD will receive prompt attention. The price, which covers the cost of postage, must accompany your order. Address

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FAMOUS MEN ON BISMARCK.

Marx's Theory of Labor Time.

"It is of no consequence," says Sleskiewicz, "whether Bismarck really coined the phrase: 'Might before right,' or not. Public opinion, which says he did, sees in Bismarck the personification of that maxim and sees correctly. All his political successes are the outcome of this principle. And to make matters worse, he endowed this idea with the glamour of positive truth. He made it popular, he impressed it upon his fellow-men as something great and desirable and thereby succeeded in lowering the moral standard of Europe as nobody did before him. No one during the past few centuries at least, Bismarck's Germany cannot be good. Even the Germans regard Bismarck as a being with two souls: the embodiment of power one, the personalization of hatred the other—hatred of the non-Christian sort, hatred of the parvenu—hatred against the great, defenseless masses of the people, hatred directed against the political parties who opposed him. Many Germans love and admire Bismarck; they acknowledge the mildness of the fatherland was his work; but they recognized also, long ago, that Germany could not continue to live under his guidance."

Cesare Lombroso—Italian Scientist and Socialist: If you call a man great

who fights for his own class with great cleverness and with energy that approaches cruelty—then Bismarck was a great man. But there are great, greater, and still greater men. And between Cavour, who liberated this country and then ruled it without becoming a tyrant—between Gladstone who, by supporting the demands of the Irish, averted a revolution, and who, at the height of his power, voluntarily ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece, a man who fell because he did not succeed in carrying a law against drunkenness—between Cavour and Gladstone and Bismarck (which latter had behind him his emperor and half a million soldiers and who, to complete his triumph, did not hesitate to set one class of citizens against the other)—between these three men history will judge, and I have no doubt that it will prefer Cavour and Gladstone.

Max Nordau: The critics of the future will recognize, even more clearly than those of to-day, that Bismarck's political achievements, as far as they are of a lasting character, are not Bismarck's, but should properly be credited to the German people. Bismarck's political deeds were not of the enduring sort. His greatness lies not in what he did, but in what he was.

The deputy of Guadeloupe to the French House of Parliament, M. Légitime, is a Socialist. In the course of an interview he told a Paris reporter that in Guadeloupe Socialists started the propaganda in Pointe à Pitre, the capital of the island, seven years ago, and have a Socialist journal. Légitime is a full blooded negro, as are most of the inhabitants of Guadeloupe. In his electoral district there are 15 towns and villages, nearly all of which have Socialist corporations. In 1896 the French Government suppressed his paper, *Le Peuple*, and, in reply, M. Légitime visited the whole country from town to village, and carried the propaganda throughout the island. He claims to have been elected by white men, negroes and half breeds. Socialism knows no color line.

To exchange error for truth is one of the keenest delights granted to man.

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT.

I would hail the day upon which it could be truthfully said, "Labor conquers everything," with inexpressible satisfaction.

What has labor conquered up to date in the United States? What is the testimony of the labor press, corroborated by facts which defy contradiction? It is this, that the land is cursed with wage-slavery—with the condition that labor, which, according to the proverb, "conquers everything," is itself conquered and lies prostrate and manacled beneath the iron-clad hoofs of a despotism as cruel as ever cursed the world.

To hew and dig, to build and repair, to toil and starve is not "conquering" in any proper sense of the term. Conquerors are not clothed in rags. Conquerors do not starve. The homes of conquerors are not huts, dark and dismal, where wives and children moan like the night winds and sob like the rain. Conquerors are not vagabond dogs, nor imprisoned if they were felons. No! Conquerors rule—their word is law. Labor is not yet in the condition of a conqueror in the United States.—Eugene V. Debs.

The public employment bureaus of the German Government find situations for the unemployed at the rate of about 13,000 a month. The number found last month was 13,648.